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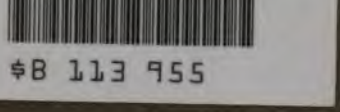

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The University of Chicago

"WILY BEGUILED"

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND LITERATURE
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

BY

BALDWIN MAXWELL

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PREFACE

This reprint from *Studies in Philology* represents a section of a dissertation submitted in the Graduate School of the University of Chicago in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It was originally planned that the study should include the text of *Wily Beguiled* with an introduction and notes. Because of the increased cost of printing, however, it was thought unnecessary to print the text, there being already two excellent texts of the play easily accessible, and the printing requirement was reduced to what were considered the most interesting and most important sections of the dissertation. The sections which are not here reprinted were entitled (*a*) "Personal Satire," (*b*) "Parallel Passages," and (*c*) "Robin Goodfellow." The personal satire of *Wily* consists apparently of unconnected thrusts, like the thrusts at Ben Jonson noted on pages 208 ff. and 218 n.; certainly there is no such complete and extended satire as Fleay pictured in his *Shakespeare Manual* (pp. 272–79) and his *Biographical Chronicle* (II, 158–62). Of the parallel passages noted the most interesting were in *A Knight of the Burning Pestle*, where the similarities are so close as to convince me that Beaumont made use of *Wily* in the construction of his play. (These parallels are printed in *Modern Language Notes*, XXXV, 503–4.) In the section devoted to Robin Goodfellow I attempted to study his development and to trace his appearances through Elizabethan literature.

It is with real pleasure that I take this opportunity to thank those who have guided me through my studies. To Professor Edwin Greenlaw I owe my first interest in Elizabethan drama. To Professor John M. Manly, to Professor Tom Peete Cross, and especially to Professor Charles R. Baskervill I am indebted for suggestions and corrections more than I can enumerate. With the remembrance of association with men such as these, one may even today enter the teaching profession, repeating with St. Bernard,

Deus Bone! quanta pauperibus procuras solatia.

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[Reprinted from *Studies in Philology*, Vol. XIX, 2, April, 1922]

WILY BEGUILED[1]

BY BALDWIN MAXWELL

Although *Wily Beguiled* has long been acknowledged one of the sprightliest and merriest of the anonymous Elizabethan comedies, there seems never to have been a serious study of its date or of its authorship. The play merits more attention not only because of its excellence but also because of (1) its possible connection with the *Wylie Beguylie* performed at Merton College, Oxford, in 1566/7, (2) its suggested relation to the group of Parnassus plays performed at Cambridge around 1600, (3) its imitations and reflections of other plays of the period, and (4) the personal satire which Fleay recognized in it.

[1] Under 12 November, (1606), there appears in the Register of the Stationers' Company the following entry:

> Entered for his Copie vnder thandes of master Hartwell and Clement knighte bothe the wardens A booke called Wylie beguilde. &c . vj^{d}/
> (Arber's Transcript, III, 333.)

In accordance with this entry an edition—presumably the first edition—appeared in this year with the title-page: A/ PLEASANT/ COMEDIE,/ Called/ WILY BEGVILDE./ *The Chiefe Actors be these:/ A poore* Scholler, a rich Foole, and a/ Knaue at a shifte./ AT LONDON./ Printed by *H. L.* for CLEMENT KNIGHT:/ and are to be solde at his Shop, in Paules/ *Church-yard, at the signe of the Holy Lambe.*/ 1606./ Two further editions were printed for Clement Knight, one by W. W., (William White), at an unknown date, one by Thomas Purfoot in 1623. A fourth and a fifth edition were printed in 1630 and 1655; and a sixth edition was printed for Thomas Alchorn in 1638. Copies of the 1606 edition are preserved in the Bodleian Library, the Dyce Collection and the collection of the Duke of Devonshire; while the British Museum contains copies of all the other editions. "Of that printed by W. White only the one copy is now known. In this the date, which apparently was given, has been torn away. White is not known as a printer after about 1617, and internal evidence also shows his edition to be earlier than Purfoot's, that is than 1623. Doubt might even exist as to the priority of the edition of 1606 were it not that the device upon the undated title-page is known to be pretty certainly not earlier than 1611." (Greg, Malone Society Reprint, v-vi.) The play has been reprinted in Hawkins, *Origins*, III, in Hazlitt, *Dodsley's Old English Plays*, IX, in the *Malone Society Reprints*, 1912, and in the *Tudor Facsimile Texts*, 1912.

I

Modern critics have generally agreed that the play is several years older than the earliest known edition, that of 1606. Malone was the first, I think, to suggest the date 1596, which the majority of modern writers have continued to accept. He thought that *Wily Beguiled* must have been written in that year, for there then appeared the following passage in Nash's *Have with you to Saffron Walden:*

> But this was our *Gabriel Hagiels* tricke of *Wily Beguily* herein, that whereas he could get no man of worth to cry *Placet* to his workes, or meeter it in his commendation, those worthless Whippets and Jack Straws hee could get he would seeme to enoble and compare with the highest.[2]

The only way in which this passage suggests the play is in the mention of the "tricke of *Wily Beguily.*" But as Hales pointed out, the expression *Wily Beguily* was known before 1590. Hales quoted a passage from Dr. John Harvey's *Discoursiue Problem Concerning Prophesies,* 1588, in which the expression is found. But it must have been common before that. It appears, of course, as the title of the Oxford play of 1566/7; Florio used it in his translation of Montaigne's essay on "The Art of Conferring";[3] and it is to be found in Latimer's letters.[4]

The majority of critics have continued to accept 1596 as the probable date, though the evidence which has been introduced has been only of such nature as to fix 1596 as the earliest possible date. Fleay observes: "That the original date of this play is 1596/7 I have no doubt. It contains passages distinctly parodying *Romeo and Juliet* . . . and *The Merchant of Venice* . . . , but no allusion to any later play of Shakespeare."[5] Ward says: "*Wily Beguiled,* although not printed till 1606, was clearly written at a considerably earlier date. It must have been composed after the production of both *The Merchant of Venice,* a famous passage in which it adopts and parodies, and *Romeo and Juliet.*" Ward also accepts the suggestion in the foot-notes of Hazlitt's *Dodsley* that

[2] Quoted by Hales, "Wily Beguiled and The Merchant of Venice," *Essays and Notes on Shakespeare,* pp. 212-213.

[3] Book III, Chap. VIII.

[4] Letter of May 15, 1555. Strype, *Eccl. Mem.,* VI, 307.

[5] *Biog. Chron.,* II, 159.

the mention of Churms' having been "a souldier at Cales" refers to the expedition of the Earl of Essex to Cadiz in 1596.[6] Though we admit the truth of these observations, we can say only that *Wily Beguiled* was not written before 1596.

Professor J. W. Hales and Dr. Brinsley Nicholson place the play "in or after 1601," but, so far as I know, their reasons have never been printed. After discussing the parodies of Shakspere and Malone's dating of the play, Professor Hales closes with: "What is the real date there is no space now to discuss. I will only say that Dr. Brinsley Nicholson has kindly placed at my free disposal certain notes of his on the subject, in which he concludes, on the whole, that the play was written 'in or after 1601.'"[7] That the correct date of the play in the form in which we have it is late 1601 or early 1602 I shall attempt to show by connecting certain references in *Wily Beguiled* with the quarrel then at its height between Ben Jonson and his fellow dramatists.

In *Satiromastix* Tucca upbraids Horace for having brought him upon the stage as a juggler:

> Ile teach thee to turne me into Bankes his horse, and to tell gentlemen I am a juggler, and can shew tricks.[8]

The latest editor of this play in a note on this passage apparently accepts Fleay's interpretation, quoting approvingly from Fleay to the effect that "In the Prologue [to *Wily Beguiled*] a juggler enters and offers to show tricks. Now in the second scene of Dekker's *Satiromastix*, Captain Tucca says to Horace, *i. e.*, Jonson, 'I'll teach thee . . . to tell gentlemen I am a juggler, and can show tricks.' I have searched in vain for any passage either in Jonson's works, or in any play in which he could possibly have had a hand, corresponding to this description, except this Prologue, which must therefore, I think, be assigned to Jonson. . . ."[9]

Neither Fleay nor Penniman seems to have noticed the similarity between another passage in *Wily Beguiled* and a speech of Tucca almost immediately following the above speech. When Blunt tells

[6] *History of English Dramatic Literature*, II, 612.

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 214.

[8] Act I, scene 2, 368-370.

[9] Fleay, *Biog. Chron.*, II, 159; quoted by Penniman in his edition of *Poetaster* and *Satiromastix*, *Belles Lettres Series*, 408.

Tucca that he must shake hands with Horace, Tucca interrupts him with:

> Not hands with great Hunkes there, not hands, but Ile shake the gull-groper out of his tan'd skinne.[10]

As Jonson is here clearly called *Hunkes* and as there is abundant evidence of his slowness and painstaking in composition, there can be no doubt that it is to Jonson that Will Cricket in *Wily Beguiled* refers when he says:

> For (do you marke) I am none of these sneaking fellowes that wil stand thrumming of Caps, and studying vppon a matter, as long as *Hunkes* with the great head has beene about to show his little wit in the second part of his paultrie poetrie.[11]

The "second part of his paultrie poetrie" is, I think, *Poetaster, Cynthia's Revels* being understood as the first. The "second part" as here used does not, of course, mean the second piece of composition; nor does it mean the second of his pieces connected with the stage quarrel. *Second* is here used in the sense of a continuation or of something promised. That *Poetaster* was considered a continuation of the attacks of *Cynthia's Revels,* that it was long promised and awaited, is evident from the speech of Envy, prefacing its Prologue:

> What's here? THE ARRAIGNMENT! ay; this, this is it,
> That our sunk eyes have waked for all this while:
> . . . . . .
> . . . . . these fifteen weeks,
> So long as since the plot was but an embrion,
> Have I, with burning lights mixt vigilant thoughts,
> In expectation of this hated play.[12]

If Jonson had a hand in the Induction to *Wily Beguiled* as Fleay supposed, either this Induction was written for an entirely different play and later used by one of his enemies, or Jonson wrote an induction to a play in which he himself was satirized.

[10] Act I, scene 2, ll. 387-389.

[11] *Malone Society Reprint,* ll. 1613-1617. (The line references throughout are to this edition.) The suggestion is made in a footnote in Hazlitt's *Dodsley* that this passage alludes to some real circumstance and person (IX, 292). No identification, however, is hazarded.

[12] Lines 3-4; 14-17.

It is much more plausible that Jonson had no hand whatever in *Wily Beguiled.*

Nor is it necessary, I think, to seek elsewhere than in Jonson's known works for an explanation of Tucca's resentment. It may, of course, be argued that as the passage in *Satiromastix* unites the references to Banks' horse and the juggler, the resentment was due to a passage in one of Jonson's plays in which both the juggler and the horse appear. As I have said, however, it is clear that *Poetaster* was considered a continuation of *Cynthia's Revels,* and the authors of *Satiromastix,* in replying to the two plays, would regard them as a unit. In none of his extant plays does Jonson turn anyone into "Bankes his horse"; but if the passage be taken figuratively, Penniman may be right in thinking that "the reference here is probably to *Poetaster,* III, 4, a scene in which Tucca causes the Pyrgi to perform as Banks caused his horse to show tricks." [13] If Penniman be correct in his identification of the first part of the accusation, it is quite probable that the second part—that Tucca had been turned into a juggler and made to show tricks—is to be found in *Cynthia's Revels.* In the Induction to this play, Jonson, in satirizing those that give advice in the theatre, makes the Second Child say:

> A third great-bellied juggler talks of twenty years since, and when Monsieur was here, and would enforce all wits to be of that fashion, because his doublet is still so.[14]

True, the juggler is not here literally brought upon the stage and made to do tricks, but it is evident from the other speeches of the Induction that the Children did mimic the censurers as they spoke their lines, and from such mimicking it would have been easy for the spectators to have recognized in the person aped by the Second Child such a well-known character as Captain Hannam must have been.

However, the identification in Jonson's plays of the passages referred to by Tucca lies outside the present problem. Regardless of whether we accept the references I have suggested or of whether we prefer to believe that the references were to passages in a lost play by Jonson, we can, if I am correct in believing that the

[13] *Op. cit.,* p. 408.
[14] *Works,* ed. Gifford, 1858, p. 168.

Hunkes passage in *Wily* refers to *Cynthia's Revels* and *Poetaster,* assign the composition of *Wily Beguiled* in its present form to a fairly definite date. It must have been written at least several months after *Cynthia's Revels:*

"**. . . as long as *Hunkes* with the great head *has beene about to show* his little wit in the second part of his paultrie poetrie.**"

The phrase *has beene about to show* is perhaps ambiguous. Possibly it means that *Poetaster,* though long promised, had not yet appeared. I think, however, the more likely interpretation is that *Poetaster* had appeared very shortly before. Either interpretation would result in practically the same date. *Cynthia's Revels* was performed in the fall of 1600, *Poetaster* in 1601. Under the first interpretation *Wily Beguiled* should be assigned to 1601; under the second to late 1601 or possibly to the first months of 1602. That the second interpretation is the more likely is indicated by the use which the author of *Wily* made of other plays. In passages which I have already quoted, Fleay and Ward call attention to borrowings in *Wily* from *The Merchant of Venice* and *Romeo and Juliet* and argue from them that *Wily* must have been written shortly after the production of these two plays. Both of these plays, however, were probably still being acted in 1600, and there can be no argument that an author would be more apt to borrow from a play soon after its initial production than after it had shown its worth by several years of continued popularity. Professor Moore Smith, moreover, contributed to *The Shakspere Allusion Book* the following parallel between *Wily* and *Hamlet:*

> **Ile make him fly swifter than meditation.**
> **(*Wily,* Prologue, l. 37.)**
> **. . . . . with wings as swift**
> **As meditation, or the thoughts of love.**
> **(*Hamlet,* I, *v,* 30.)**

The editor notes that "there is difficulty in the date" and that "The *Wily Beguilde* passage may be coincidence" or "a borrowing from *Hamlet* in its earlier form." [15] However, as the author of *Wily* clearly borrows from other plays of Shakspere and as *Hamlet* was produced during late 1601 or the opening weeks of

[15] Munro, *The Shakspere Allusion Book,* i, 30.

1602—just the time at which the reference to Jonson would place *Wily Beguiled*—it seems more reasonable to admit the parody.

Likewise, *The Spanish Tragedy*, from which *Wily* borrows most frequently,[16] was at this same time revived upon the London stage, as is witnessed by the entry in Henslowe's *Diary* under September 25, 1601, recording the payment of forty shillings to Jonson "vpon his writtinge of his adicians in geronymo."[17]

In dating the play, I have been careful to speak of it as "*Wily Beguiled* in the form in which we now have it." It is, of course, possible that there was a version prepared in 1596-7, and that the reference to Jonson and perhaps a borrowing from *Hamlet* were inserted in 1601-2. I see no reason, however, for supposing that there was a 1596-7 version. Though the play obviously shows signs of revision, the original version should, I believe, be placed far back of 1596.

II

The first attempt to assign *Wily Beguiled* to a definite author was made by Herr Bernardi in the *Hamburger Litteraturblatt* in 1856. Bernardi assigned it to Shakspere. I have been unable to examine his article, but it obviously merits the contempt with which critics have ignored it. Both Dyce and Fleay ascribed the play to Peele, and most modern critics have inclined to their view. The basis for the ascription is the passage in the Induction where a juggler, coming in, addresses the Prologue as "humorous George." Ward says that if Peele was the "'humorous George' of the Prologue to the later version of this play, he may very

[16] Professor Sarrazin in his *Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis*, Berlin, 1892, pp. 75 ff., pointed out a large number of these borrowings, but one can easily increase his list. It seems that in the majority of cases the author of *Wily* used the language of Kyd to heighten his own style, though at times—notably in the speeches of Robin in scene xvi—passages from *The Spanish Tragedy* are burlesqued.

[17] Greg, I, 149. It should be noted, however, that among the many borrowings from *The Spanish Tragedy* none of the additions by Jonson is referred to. From such omissions it may be argued that, as Jonson is elsewhere satirized in the play, the composition of *Wily* must antedate his revision of *The Spanish Tragedy;* but the more probable supposition, I think, is that *Wily* was in no sense a purposed attack upon Jonson, though the author introduced an occasional thrust or two in his direction.

probably have been author at least in part of it in its original form." [18] Schelling and Baker agree that there is "nothing . . . to raise a question of Peele's authorship except the simple obviousness with which the plot is developed" [19]—"a trait in which Peele cannot be considered conspicuous." [20] Miss Martha Gause McCaulley and Mr. Penniman, however, go so far as to call the play "Peele's *Wily Beguiled.*" [21]

But if I am correct in the dating of the play, *Wily* could not in its present form have been written before 1601, some two years after Peele's death. However, since Professor Ward has suggested two versions, and as I shall later argue that our version represents a revision, I should perhaps give my reasons for doubting Peele's authorship of even an earlier version. In the first place, the value of the "humorous George" passage as a basis for ascription has, I think, been greatly overestimated. The term *humorous* as here used does not seem to fit the jesting Peele, for here it clearly means melancholy, "in the dumps." Further, we have no evidence of Peele's ever acting as Prologue to his plays, and unless he did, there could be no significance to the juggler's addressing the Prologue as "humorous George." It is, I think, much more plausible that the George referred to was not the author but one of the popular actors of the day, perhaps George Brian. Or possibly the *George* may be no more definite than the frequent *Jack,* which also appears in the Induction.

Though the language of *Edward I,* and especially some of the figures, remind one of *Wily Beguiled,* to the other plays of Peele *Wily* bears little resemblance, except that all of Peele's work, like *Wily,* abounds in highly figurative language. But most, if not all, of the similar figures in *Wily* and *Edward I* were conventional figures of the age and may be paralleled in the plays of numerous other dramatists. In the nature of the comedy and in dramatic technique, moreover, there are several striking differences between

[18] *Hist. of Eng. Dram. Lit.,* I, 375.

[19] Baker, *Cambridge History of English Literature,* V, 145.

[20] Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama,* I, 320.

[21] McCaulley, "Function and Content of the Prologue, Chorus, and Other Non-Organic Elements in the English Drama, from the Beginnings to 1642." *University of Pennsylvania Studies in English Drama,* First series, 1917, p. 198. Penniman, *Poetaster and Satiromastix* (*Belles-Lettres Series*), p. 408.

Wily and the plays of Peele. The comic scenes in *Wily*, totally unlike Peele's in their broad humor, are far too good to have come from the pen of George Peele. In none of his plays can be found such sprightly popular types as Will Cricket, Pegge Pudding, and Mother Midnight.

A still more striking contrast is presented in the differences in technique. Nowhere in Peele, for example, is any use made of dramatic irony. In *Wily Beguiled*, however, the author used dramatic irony at every opportunity. Churms, in planning with Lelia their elopement, declares:

> If on th'aduenture all the dangers lay,
> That *Europe* or the westerne world affords,
> Were it to combate *Cerberus* himselfe,
> Or scale the brasen walles of *Plutoes* court;
> When as there is so faire a prize propos'd,
> If I shrinke backe or leaue it vnperform'd,
> Let the World canonize me for a Coward:
> . . . . . .
> Should Sophos meete vs there accompanied with some Champion,
> With whome twere any credit to encounter,
> Were he as stout as *Hercules* himselfe,
> Then would I buckle with them hand to hand:
> And bandy blowes as thicke as hailestones fall,
> And carrie *Lelia* away in spite of all their force.[32]

Though the audience knows that a beating is in store for him at the hands of Fortunatus, who with Sophos is awaiting them by the forest side, Churms little suspects that he is to have any adventure or that the journey will prove other than the most quiet. So also, just before word is brought to him that Churms has eloped with Lelia, Gripe tells us of his happiness and of his confidence in Churms:

> Euery one tels me I looke better then I was wont,
> My hearts lightened, my spirits are reuiued,
> Why me thinkes I am eene young againe;
> It ioyes my heart that this same peeuish girle my daughter will be rul'd at the last yet:
> But I shall neuer be able to make M. *Churmes* amends for the great paines he has taken.[33]

[32] Lines 1817-1823, 1836-1842.
[33] Lines 2244-2251.

Nowhere, I have said, does Peele use dramatic irony. The nearest approach to it is to be found in *The Arraignment of Paris,* where Paris swears that he will always remain true to Oenone. At the time of his oaths the situation that was to make him desert her had, of course, not developed, as he had not yet met the goddesses. If this be a case of dramatic irony at all, it is entirely different from the dramatic irony of *Wily,* where, for instance, we have learned from the action long before Gripes' speech that the "great paines" Churms has taken are toward an end just opposite to what Gripe supposes.

Another noteworthy difference in technique is to be seen in the opening. In the first scene of *Wily Beguiled* Gripe enters *solus,* and in a speech more than a page in length explains the situation at the opening, tells of his own wealth, of his son who "followes the wars," of the bringing up which he has bestowed upon his daughter, and of his plan to marry her to the heir of rich Ploddall. In none of the five plays usually ascribed to Peele is there any such expository opening. None even begins with a soliloquy, there being in every case three or more characters discovered in the opening scene.

There is, too, a striking difference in the development of the action. It may almost be said that it is the unvarying rule for a character in *Wily Beguiled* to inform the audience of his plan to perform an act before he performs it. Compare, for instance, the lines following lines 30, 74, 438, 1037, *et passim.* Nothing of this sort is to be found in the plays of Peele.

There is also considerable internal evidence of another kind that argues against Peele's authorship of *Wily Beguiled.* Little, however, can be got from a comparison of the meter and alliteration. The number of rhymed lines shows nothing; for though the percentage of rhymed lines in *Wily Beguiled* is more than twice as great as the added percentage of rhymed lines in the *Arraignment of Paris, David and Bethsabe,* and *Battle of Alcazar,* yet there are more rhymed lines in *Edward I,* corrupt though the text be, than in *Wily Beguiled.* Neither does an examination of feminine endings or run-on-lines argue against Peele's authorship. Though *Wily Beguiled* shows a larger percentage of feminine endings and a smaller percentage of run-on-lines than the *Arraignment of Paris, David and Bethsabe,* and *Battle of*

Alcazar, yet the differences between these plays and *The Old Wives Tale* are much greater than between them and *Wily Beguiled.*

The frequency of the alliteration in *Wily Beguiled* might at first glance suggest Peele's authorship. In the *Arraignment of Paris* there are 207 cases of alliteration; in *David and Bethsabe* 100; in *Edward I* 110; in *Wily Beguiled* 175. But in *Wily Beguiled* the alliteration seems to be of a slightly simpler kind. In Peele, on the average, about 50% of the cases consist of two words beginning with the same letter; under this head fall 74.29% of the cases in *Wily Beguiled.* The percentage of cases in which three words begin with the same letter is in Peele about 37.89, in *Wily* but 15.42.

Of more value, however, is the evidence furnished by the use of Latin phrases. The number of these phrases shows nothing. In *Edward I* Peele uses 20; in *The Old Wives Tale* 8; in *The Battle of Alcazar* 0; in *David and Bethsabe* 0; and in *The Arraignment of Paris* 1, omitting of course in the last play the Latin speeches with which the gifts were presented to Elizabeth. In *Wily* there are 12. But there is a striking difference in the way these phrases are used. Of the 29 cases in Peele, 5 are exclamations:

> O Cupido, quantus, quantus! (*Edward I,* line 1313.)
> Facinus scelus, infandum nefas! (*Ibid.,* line 2757.)
> O caelum! O terra! O maria! O Neptune! (*O. W. T.,* line 16.)
> O falsum Latinum! (*Ibid.,* line 348.)
> Adeste, daemones! (*Ibid.,* line 505.)

Of the twelve Latin phrases in *Wily* none is an exclamation. Peele, too, made use of Latin salutations:

> Pax vobis, Pax vobis.
> Et cum spiritu tuo. (*Edward I,* line 402.)
> Dominus vobiscum.
> Et cum spiritu tuo. (*Ibid.,* lines 2707-8.)
> Bona Nox. (*O. W. T.,* line 125.)

There is no Latin salutation in *Wily Beguiled.* On the other hand, of the 29 Latin phrases in Peele only one appears to be a popular saying or proverb;[24] whereas of the 12 bits of Latin in

[24] *Edward I,* line 1526.

Wily—of the 7 bits consisting of more than two words—4 are obviously popular sayings:

> Idem est non apparere et non esse. (Line 1150.)
> Virtus sine Censu languet. (Line 800.)
> Qui dissimulare nescit, nescit vivere. (Line 542.)
> Si nihil attuleris &c.[25] (Line 514.)

Again, a good proportion of Peele's Latin is to be traced to the Church service:

> Secula seculorum (*Edward I*, line 490.)
> Peccavi miserere David
> In amo amavi (*Ibid.*, lines 1504-05.)
> Per misericordiam (*Ibid.*, line 2392.)
> Ora pro nobis (*Ibid.*, lines 2540.)
> Dominus vobiscum
> Et cum spiritu tuo (*Ibid.*, lines 2707-08.)

(Only one of the foregoing phrases, it should be noted, is put in the mouth of the priest.) None of the Latin in *Wily* seems to have been in any way suggested by the service. Similarly, at least three of Peele's Latin phrases are direct quotations from Horace,[26] from whom the author of *Wily* does not quote.

I have pointed out that between *Wily Beguiled* and the plays of Peele there are differences in the use of Latin phrases, in alliteration, and in the nature of the comic material; and a very striking contrast in dramatic technique. In view of the absence of any external evidence for assigning *Wily* to Peele, these differences are, I think, sufficient to warrant our denying him the authorship of even an earlier form of the play.

The fact that Jonson is satirized in *Wily Beguiled* immediately suggests the possibility of *Wily's* having been written or reworked by Marston. Albano in *What You Will* laments the same situation which *Wily* portrays:

[25] *Si nihil attuleris, ibis Homere foras.* This "olde sayd Saw" was used by Nash in his preface to Greene's *Menaphon* (Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I, 318); and it appears in the *Return from Parnassus, Part I*, lines 1526-27.

[26] *Edward I*, line 202 is taken from *Ars Poet.*, 139.
Edward I, line 678 is taken from *Serm.*, I, 3, 6.
Edward I, lines 1923-4 are from *Epistles*, I, 2, 68-9.

[27] III, ii, 66-67.

. . . 'tis now the age of gold,—
For it all marreth, and even virtue's sold.[27]

There are, too, a number of verbal similarities between *Wily* and the works of Marston, but on close examination these prove to be neither so striking nor so numerous as similarities between *Wily* and the works of other dramatists. The verse of *Wily* is most obviously not the verse of Marston; it is far more lyric and full of more elaborate conceits. There would be no justification for our assuming that the author of *Wily* intended burlesque in his elaborate "Furor Poeticus" language, or that he regarded his verse as in other than the best strain; but his verse is the very type that Marston, in the mouth of Slip, satirizes in *What You Will*:

. . . . Shall I speak like a poet?—
thrice hath the horned moon—.[28]

Moreover, if Marston were writing or revising *Wily Beguiled* in 1601 or 1602, he would, desiring to attack Jonson, hardly have contented himself with two or three thrusts,[29] or indeed with less than the most outspoken satire. That the satire, however, consists merely in odd thrusts, the author not having deliberately set out to satirize Jonson, is indicated by the fact that, though the *Spanish Tragedy* is burlesqued in a great number of cases, not one of the additions by Jonson is referred to.

[27] III, i, 72-73.

[28] I have called attention to the passage in which Jonson is spoken of as Hunks. It is possible that there is also a thrust at Jonson in the reference by the Prologue to *Spectrum:*

"*Spectrum* is a looking glasse indeede
Wherein a man a History may read,
Of base conceits and damned roguerie:
The very sinke of hell-bred villeny."

In the Prologue to *Every Man in his Humour* Jonson says that he "would shew an image of the times," and in the Induction to *Every Man out of his Humour* Asper declares:

"Well, I will scourge those apes,
And to these courteous eyes oppose a mirror,
As large as is the stage whereon we act;
Where they shall see the time's deformity
Anatomized in every nerve, and sinew,
With constant courage, and contempt of fear."

III

Mr. Boas dismisses *Wily Beguiled* with the observation that it "was probably a Cambridge play," [30] and Mr. Greg hazards the suggestion that it was "a Cambridge piece of the circle of Parnassus." [31] Beyond the fact that *Wily* seems to be a school play, I can find but two reasons for connecting it with Cambridge: first, the mention of Momus in the Prologue to *Wily* is, as Fleay pointed out,[32] in the same spirit as the Induction to the *Return from Parnassus, Part II,* and second, Churms' stating that he had been "at *Cambridge* a Scholler." [33] References to Momus, however, occur far too frequently in the drama of the time to allow our giving much weight to his mention here.[34] Similarly the mention of Churms' having been "at *Cambridge* a Scholler" seems to deserve little consideration. In the first place *Cambridge* may have been used for alliteration. Churms says: "I haue beene at *Cambridge* a Scholler, at *Cales* a Souldier, and now in the Country a Lawyer, and the next degree shal be a Connicatcher." Again, it should be noted that Churms is the villain of the play. Had it been Sophos who had been at Cambridge, there might be reason for the claim; but a Cambridge audience could hardly have felt complimented in seeing a son of Cambridge do all in his power to cozen Sophos, the personification of learning. Possibly the reference is meant for a good-natured "slam"—perhaps by a

[30] *University Drama in the Tudor Age,* p. 157 n., and *Cambridge Hist. Eng. Lit.,* VI, 338 n.

[31] *Malone Society Reprint,* p. vii.

[32] *Biog. Chron.,* II, 158.

[33] Line 68.

[34] The mention of Momus might equally well be offered as an argument for Oxford authorship. William Gager had, at the close of a series of performances at Oxford in 1592, brought upon the stage this god of ridicule, who attacked acting and plays in general. Momus' criticisms were answered and he himself held up to contumely in an *Epilogus Responsiuus.* (Boas, *University Drama,* 233.) Out of this jest grew the Gager-Rainolds Controversy, Rainolds thinking that Gager intended to satirize him, as he had formerly expressed some of the views which were satirized in Momus. This controversy seems to have been still before the public in 1599, when there was published *Th' Overthrow of Stage-Playes be way of controversie betwixt D. Gager and D. Rainolds, wherein all the reasons that can be made for them are notably refuted.*

student of the sister university. Moreover, the nature of the satire in *Wily* and development of the plot are entirely different from those of the plays of the Parnassus trilogy. There is none but the most ordinary verbal similarity, and there is the striking difference that whereas Philomusus, Studioso, and the others are continually voicing their discontent with their poverty, Sophos is quite satisfied with his material wealth:

> I am not rich, I am not very poore,
> I neither want nor euer shall exceede,
> The meane is my content, I liue twixt two extreames.[36]

That *Wily Beguiled* is a school play has been generally admitted. The fact that Beaumont seems to have used it, however, in constructing his satire in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*[36] seems to indicate that it was acted upon the London stage, and most likely Ward is right in conjecturing that it was a University play adapted for a London audience.[36a] That the University at which it was originally performed, however, was not Cambridge but Oxford, I shall attempt to show by connecting *Wily Beguiled* with the lost *Wylie Beguylie* which was performed at Merton College, Oxford, during the Christmas holidays of 1566-7.

IV

By all odds the most interesting question connected with *Wily Beguiled* is the possibility of its being in some way related to the lost *Wylie Beguylie*. Mr. Boas, however, in writing about the University drama, has twice dodged this interesting issue. In the *Cambridge History* he laments the loss of *Wylie Beguylie*, but adds that as *Wily Beguiled* was influenced so directly by *The Spanish Tragedy, The Merchant of Venice,* and *Romeo and Juliet,* it is doubtful whether it can be connected with the Merton comedy of 1567.[37] But it seems that *Wily Beguiled* as we have it is a reworked play, and if it is, the question of its relation to *Wylie Beguylie* is at once reopened. Though he apparently did not suspect any relationship between the two plays, Professor Ward,

[36] Lines 790-792.

[36] See my note in *Modern Language Notes*, XXXV, 503-4.

[36a] *Hist. of Eng. Dram. Lit.*, II, 612.

[37] VI, 338 n.

in a passage which I have already quoted, has suggested that *Wily* represents a revision of an earlier play. Professor Baskervill is the only writer I have found who suggests that *Wily Beguiled* may have been a reworking of *Wylie Beguylie,* all other critics taking a stand similar to that of Mr. Boas. In reviewing the *University Drama in the Tudor Age,* Mr. Baskervill criticises Mr. Boas for not discussing the possible relationship of the two plays, and points out that the humor of *Wily Beguiled* is of a type no more subtle than that of *Gammer Gurton's Needle.*[38] The spirit of the whole play—or rather of all the comic scenes—certainly seems to belong to a period far earlier than 1600. The *do you mark?, do you understand?, do you see?,* with which Will Cricket punctuates his longer speeches recall the *See now?* of Hodge. In a number of comic passages also *Wily* is reminiscent of the two earliest English comedies. Will, for instance, has the same queer grounds for hope in his love-making as have Ralph Roister and Hodge:

Truly I was neuer with hir, but I know I shall speed. For tother day she lookt on me and laught, and thats a good signe (ye know).[39]

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[38] *Journal of English and Germanic Philology,* XIV (1915), 620.

[39] Lines 104-06. Compare *Ralph Roister Doister,* I, ii, 163, 165-66:

"I knowe she loveth me, but she dare not speake.
. . . . . .
She looked on me twentie tymes yesternight,
And laughed so."

And *Gammer Gurton's Needle,* II, i, 62-4.

"Kirstian Clack, Tom Simpsons maid, by the masse, coms hether to morow,
Cham not able to say, betweene us what may hap;
She smyled on me last Sunday, when ich put on my cap."

Similarly Will's promise to Pegge in *Wily Beguiled:*

"When thou art ready to sleepe, Ile be ready to snort:
When thou art in health, Ile be in gladnesse," etc. (ll. 680 ff.),

recalls the famous letter of Ralph Roister; while his "rolling, rattling, rumbling eloquence":

"Sweet *Pegge,* honny *Pegge,* fine *Pegge,* daintie *Pegge,* brave *Pegge,* kind *Pegge,* comely *Pegge,*" (636-37),

suggests the passage in *Ralph Roister,* IV, iii, 74-77:

"Gentle mistresse Custance now, good mistresse Custance,
Honey mistresse Custance now, sweete mistresse Custance,
Golden mistresse Custance now, white mistresse Custance,
Silken mistresse Custance now, faire mistresse Custance."

Several of Will's speeches contain such doggerel passages as:

> But for a sweet face, a fine beard, comely corps,
> And a Carowsing Codpeece,
> All *England* if it can
> Show mee such a man,
> To win a wench by gis,
> To clip, to coll, to kisse
> As *William Cricket* is.[40]

And again:

> Sweet hony, bonny, suger candie, *Pegge*,
> Whose face more faire, then Brocke my fathers Cow,
> Whose eyes do shine like bacon rine,
> Whose lips are blue of azure hue,
> Whose crooked nose downe to her chin doth bow.[41]

These passages, mixed with his singing of short snatches, his dancing, his talking to the audience, as in lines 427 ff., 669, 1584, and elsewhere, suggest that Will Cricket is much nearer the old vice than were the clowns of 1600. Then too, the chief humor of the last part of the play consists in Fortunatus' beating Robin Goodfellow and Churms off the stage—an old comic device, though perhaps an eternal one.

There are also several evident contradictions and incongruities in the play which make it seem that *Wily Beguiled* represents a reworking of an older play. The first passage suggesting revision is in scene iv. Until scene xvi all of Churms' plans turn out successfully. It is not until this scene that he receives his whipping at the hands of Fortunatus. It surprises us, therefore, to read in scene iv the following dialogue:

> *Wil.* Lawer wipe cleane: do you remember?
> *Churms.* Remember, why?
> *Wil.* Why since you know when.
> *Churms.* Since when?
> *Wil.* Why since you were bumbasted, that your lubberly legges would not carrie your lobcocke bodie;
> When you made an infusion of your stinking excrements, in your stalking implements:
> O you were plaguy frayd, and fowly raide.[42]

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[40] Lines 1532-38.

[41] Lines 441-445.

[42] Lines 358-366. *Araid* is used in this sense in *Jack Juggler*, l. 293.

These lines can hardly be taken as a prophecy, nor can they well refer to a previous beating, for there is indication that the knavery of Churms had never before been discovered. When they are forced to flee, Robin tells Churms that they will "go into some place where wee are not knowne, and there set up the art of knaverie with a second edition." [43] The references to the whipping must either have been inserted by one who did not take into consideration just at what point Churms had received his beating or have been transferred from the latter part of the play by some reviser who did not notice the incongruity.

Again, either Will Cricket's inviting Robin Goodfellow to his wedding or his expressed opinions of Robin would seem to be a later insertion. The only time in the play at which Will meets Robin he is deathly afraid of him, and exclaims:

> . . . Sounds, I thinke he be a witch. . . . Ile speak him faire, and get out ons companie: for I am afraid on him.[44]

Again when Mother Midnight and Pegge are discussing Robin, Will adds:

> . . . I sweare by the bloud of my codpiece,
> An I were a woman I would lug off his lave eares,
> Or run him to death with a spit: and for his face,
> I thinke tis pittie there is not a lawe made,
> That it should be fellonie to name it in any other places
> then in baudie houses.[45]

Between these two speeches, however, when Will is telling Ploddail and Peter what guests he is to have at his wedding, he speaks of Robin in an entirely different manner. Speaking of the honest Dutch Cobbler who is to be his chief guest, Will adds:

> For hees an honest fellow, and a good fellow:
> And he begins to carrie the verie badge of good fellowship
> vpon his nose; that I do not doubt, but in time he wil prooue
> as good a Copper companion as *Robin Goodfellowe* himselfe.
> . . . . . .
> And then there wil be *Robin Goodfellow*, as good a drunken
> rogue as liues: and *Tom* Shoomaker; and I hope you wil not
> deny that hees an honest man, . . .
> And a number of other honest rascals. . . .[46]

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[43] Lines 2241-2243. [44] Lines 457 ff. [45] Lines 1929-1934.
[46] Lines 1648-1651, 1661-1663, 1665.

The fear which Robin instilled in Pegge is clearly shown in the opening lines of scene xv; and in view of the embarrassment Robin's presence would have caused all concerned, it is surprising that Will should have looked forward with such anticipation toward having him as a chief wedding guest.

The style of *Wily Beguiled,* also, presents many difficulties, and there are numerous passages which suggest patchwork. Much of the verse is as smooth as that of any of Shakspere's predecessors, but interspersed with it are lines of poor meter, no polish, and an entirely different tone. Frequently a speech contains both prose and verse, as in the passage following line 520:

> Now Sir, Ile fit my selfe to the olde crummy Churls humors, and make them belieue Ile perswade *Lelia* to marry *Peter Ploddall,* and so get free accesse to the wench at my pleasure:
> Now oth other side Ile fall in with the Scholler, and him Ile handle cunningly too;
> Ile tell him that *Lelia* has acquainted me with hir loue to him:
> And for because hir Father much suspects the same,
> He mewes hir vp as men do mew their hawkes,
> And so restraines hir from hir *Sophos* sight.
> Ile say, because she doth repose more trust,
> Of secrecie in me, then in another man,
> In courtesie she hath requested me,
> To do hir kindest greetings to hir Loue.[a]

Starting as prose, the speech ends as verse, the whole tone of the speech changing. Though the verse is by no means so good as most of the verse in the play, it is evident from such expressions as "and for because" and "hir *Sophos* sight" that the author was striving for meter.

The speech of Sophos following line 283 clearly shows, I think, two hands. As Lelia and Nurse *exeunt,* Sophos says:

> Farewell my loue, faire fortune be thy guide.
> Now *Sophos,* now bethinke thy selfe
> How thou maist win her fathers will to knit this happie knot.
> Alas thy state is poore, thy friends are few,
> And feare forbids to tell my fates to friend:
> Well, Ile trie my Fortunes;

[a] Lines 519-533.

> And finde out some conuenient time,
> When as her fathers leysure best shal serue
> To conferre with him about faire *Lelias* loue.

In the last four lines, beginning with "Well, Ile trie by Fortunes," the reader must notice a complete change. There is a distinct lowering in the style. These lines are not in the vein of bombastic pedantry that characterizes the speeches of Sophos throughout the play. In them we have, I think, slightly altered remnants of an earlier form of the play.

Other passages that show differences in style and tone are those following lines 500, 968, 1005, 1763, 2000, 2021. Perhaps the best stylistic evidence for revision is to be seen in the speech of Robin Goodfellow in lines 1005 and following:

> Why, Master *Gripe* he casts beyond the moone,
> And *Churms* is the only man, he puts in trust with his daughter, and (Ile warrant) the old Churle would take it vpon his saluation, that he wil perswade her to marry *Peter Ploddall:*
> But Ile make a foole of *Peter Ploddall,*
> Ile looke him ith face and picke his purse,
> Whil'st *Churms* cosen him of his wench,
> And my old gandsir Holdfast of his daughter.
> And if he can do so:
> Ile teach him a trick to cosen him of his gold too.
> Now for *Sophos,* let him weare the willow garland,
> And play the melancholie Malecontent
> And plucke his hat downe in his sullen eyes,
> And thinke on *Lelia,* in these desert groues:
> Tis ynough for him to haue her, in his thoughts;
> Although he nere imbrace her in his armes.
> But now, theres a fine deuise comes in my head,
> To scarre the Scholler:
> You shall see, Ile make fine sport with him.
> They say, that euery day he keepes his walke
> Amongst these woods and melancholy shades,
> And on the barke of euerie senselesse tree
> Ingraues the tenour of his haples hope.
> Now when hees at *Venus* altar at his Orisons;
> Ile put me on my great carnation nose
> And wrap me in a rowsing Calueskin suite,
> And come like some Hob goblin or some diuell,
> Ascended from the griesly pit of hell:
> And like a Scarbabe make him take his legges:
> Ile play the diuel, I warrant ye.

It is immediately obvious that the five lines after the mention

of Sophos and the lines describing his wanderings in the woods do not harmonize with the others. Their tone is distinctly more exalted. Though a few of the other lines could pass for blank verse, the majority of them are in prose, and should be so printed, as in the first part of the speech. Moreover, these lines are not necessary for the sense. The plan is set forth just as clearly if they be omitted. We have here, I believe, an instance of a redactor's leaving or only slightly reworking the lines of the original speech, in order to keep the original sense, but inserting a few lines of his own to improve or heighten the effect.

It is also possible, I think, to point out at least two other instances of insertion. The first and less evident is in scene xii, where Sylvanus appears with his band of "Nymphs and Satyres singing." We are unprepared and not a little surprised at the entrance of Sylvanus into this apparently homely and unsophisticated domestic drama. The value of such an objection, perhaps worth little in itself, is enhanced by the evident contradiction in Sophos' speeches just after the Nymphs and Satyrs *exeunt*. As soon as the music ceases, Sophos, rising from the slumber he has enjoyed during the presence of the woodsprites, joyfully exclaims:

> What do I heare? what harmony is this?
> With siluer sound that glutteth *Sophos* eares?
> And driues sad passions from his heauy heart,
> Presaging some good future hap shall fall,
> After these blustring blasts of discontent.[48]

But if we may judge from the speeches immediately following, these sad passions, far from being driven from his heart, have only increased to make his heart more heavy. After greeting Fortunatus, Sophos laments:

> My mind sweet friend is like a mastlesse ship,
> Thats huld and tost vpon the surging seas,
> By *Boreas* bitter blasts and *Eoles* whistling winds,
> On Rockes and sands, farre from the wished port
> Whereon my silly ship desires to land;
> Faire *Lelias* loue that is the wished hauen,
> Wherein my wandring mind would take repose,
> For want of which my restlesse thoughts are tost:
> For want of which, all *Sophos* ioyes are lost.[49]

[48] Lines 1335-1339.

[49] Lines 1364-1372.

This contradiction, though slight and unimportant in itself, assumes some importance in view of the imitation in the second speech from *The Spanish Tragedy*[50] and of the incompatibility of the dance and song of the Nymphs and Satyrs with the whole atmosphere of the play. Similarly the argument that the song and dance here, with the speeches immediately preceding and following, represent an insertion is strengthened by the fact that there is stronger evidence that the other song in the play is an insertion. This second passage is found in scene xvi. After putting Churms to flight and after uniting Sophos and Lelia, Fortunatus, when setting out to find his father, thus takes his leave of the lovers:

> Deare friend adieu, faire sister too farewel,
> Betake y our selues vnto some secret place:
> Vntil you heare from me how things fall out.
> *Exit* Fortunatus.
> *Sophos.* We both do wish a fortunate goodnight:
> *Lelia.* And pray the Gods to guide thy steps aright.
> *Sophos.* Now come faire *Lelia*, lets betake our selues
> Vnto a little Hermitage hereby:
> And there to liue obscured from the world
> Till fates and Fortune call vs thence away,
> To see the sunshine of our Nuptiall day.
> See how the twinkling Starres do hide their borrowed shine
> As halfe asham'd their luster so is stain'd,
> By *Lelias* beautious eyes that shine more bright,
> Then twinkling Starres do in a winters night:
> In such a night did *Paris* win his loue.
> *Lelia.* In such a night, *Æneas* prou'd vnkind.
> *Sophos.* In such a night did *Troilus* court his deare.
> *Lelia.* In such a night, faire *Phyllis* was betraid.
> *Sophos.* Ile proue as true as euer *Troylus* was.
> *Lelia.* And I as constant as *Penelope*.
> *Sophos.* Then let vs solace, and in loues delight,
> And sweet imbracings spend the liue-long night.
> And whilst loue mounts her on her wanton wings,
> Let Descant run on Musicks siluer strings. *Exeunt.*

Then follows "A SONGE" of three stanzas.

It is hardly necessary to call attention to the borrowing from *The Merchant of Venice*[51] or to the unnatural delay of the lovers

[50] *Span. Trag.*, II, ii, 7 ff.
[51] *The Merchant of Venice*, v, i.

after their seeming start. But who sings this song? Does Sylvanus again appear with his chorus of Nymphs and Satyrs? Or do Sophos and Lelia still further delay their departure? More likely it is sung off stage, as its purpose is to relate the passing of the night and the dawn of a new day. Though the action of the play extends over more than a fortnight,[52] at no other point did our author think it necessary to advise us of the lapse of time. Again it was not the custom of the author to end his scenes with rime tags. No other scene has the double couplet as here; indeed only one scene, scene ii, ends in a rime at all, and there the meter is so faulty that it contrasts sharply with the four lines with which this scene ends.[53] Further, it would seem that the song intervenes between the wrong scenes. As I have said, the purpose of the song is to announce the passing of the night and the beginning of the new day. But it would seem that night follows not after this scene, but after the next. Churms and Robin, who realized that "all our shifting knauerie's knowne" and who were "afraid of euerie officer, for whipping,"[54] would hardly wait until the next day to make their escape.

In view, then, of the long delay of Sophos and Lelia in leaving the stage, of the borrowings from *The Merchant of Venice,* of the problem as to who shall sing the song, of the rimes closing the scene, and of the failure to observe when one day ended and another began, we would, I think, be justified in identifying this passage as the work of a late redactor who, having inserted among other lines the lines borrowed from *The Merchant of Venice,* realized that he had emphasized its being night, and so inserted also, without remembering the content of the following scene, the song to advise us that

> Aurora smiles with merry cheere,
> To welcome in a happy day.

The argument that *Wily Beguiled* had existed in an earlier form is greatly strengthened by the spasmodic appearance of

[52] See lines 1391-1392 and 1415-1416.

[53] The lines closing scene ii are:

> All this makes for my auaile,
> Ile ha the wench my selfe, or else my wits shall faile.

[54] Lines 2231-2234.

country or southern dialect. There are six and only six cases of dialect in the play. Mother Midnight uses it but twice; in lines 1166 and 2480 she exclaims "by my vay," though in the same lines she says "for," and everywhere else in the play pronounces *f* as *f*. Old Ploddall in lines 1556, 1562, and 2206, says "vortie shillings," though everywhere else in his many speeches he correctly pronounces the *f*. It cannot be that these two words were thus peculiarly pronounced by the author or printer, for "forty" occurs equally as often as "vorty." Neither can these occurrences be explained by lack of type, for in one place in which the dialect is used it is clearly meant to be humorous. Ploddall, meeting with Robin who has just been beaten by Fortunatus, says to him relative to the money he has promised him for "fraying the Scholler": "I sent you vorty shillings, and you shal have the cheese I promis'd you too." Robin replies: "A plague on the vorty shillings, and the cheese too." [55] The humor of dialect, like the humor of the characterizing phrase, depends entirely upon repetition or constant use. It is inconceivable that any dramatist should seek to secure humor by carefully inserting six bits of dialect four or five hundred lines apart. The appearance of this dialect can only be explained, I think, by our assuming that we have an older play containing dialect, which was revised by one who for some reason wished to eliminate the dialect. Six bits escaped his attention.

I have called attention to the broad and early type of humor in the comic scenes, the evident contradictions, the apparent patchwork of the style, three seeming insertions, and the unexplainable use of dialect. If upon these grounds we may assume the existence of an earlier form of the play, what must have been the nature of the revision? Most of the scenes in which Sophos, Lelia, and Fortunatus speak are written in blank verse with a fluency not found in comedies before the nineties. If *Wily Beguiled* is a revision of an earlier play, there is no doubt that the play was most thoroughly reworked. It is not incredible, however, that a reviser may have followed strictly the promise of Wilmot, who in 1591 declared that *Tancred and Gismund* was "Newly reuiued and polished according to the decorum of these daies." [56] Such

[55] Lines 2206-2209.

[56] Title-page, edition of 1591; facsimile in *Malone Society Reprint*, 1914.

was the case, I believe, with *Wily Beguiled.* The earlier play must have been written in doggerel, or possibly in both prose and doggerel; and the reviser, while keeping in the main the substance of the play and the content of the various speeches, must have worked over the play, eliminating the greater part of the rime, turning most of the speeches of the nobler characters into blank verse, and inserting other material wherever he deemed it expedient. His reworking, however, was not perfect. He failed to observe several evident contradictions; and frequently the smoothness of the lines inserted contrasts sharply with the crudity of the original lines which, for connection or sense, he retained or only slightly modified.

If *Wily Beguiled* as we have it is a revised play, one cannot of course say that it was influenced so directly by *The Spanish Tragedy, The Merchant of Venice,* and *Romeo and Juliet* that it cannot be connected with the Merton College play of 1567. On the contrary there are numerous features which suggest that *Wily Beguiled* is related to *Wylie Beguylie.* In the first place, as has frequently been pointed out, *Wily Beguiled* seems to have been a school play. The scholar Sophos is just the type of hero that would please a University audience. Speeches such as that of Will Cricket in line 397 and following, likewise suggest that the play was intended for a University audience. Speaking of Lelia and Sophos, Will says:

> Nay, I dare take it on my death she loues him,
> For hees a scholler: and ware schollers, they haue tricks for
> loue yfaith, for with a little Logicke & *pitome colloquium*
> theile make a wench do any thing.

The moral of the play is that learning is much to be preferred to riches. Gripe, gaping after gold, prefers the rich fool to the poor scholar. But not so with the heroine.

> But *Lelia* scorn's proud *Mammon's* golden mines,
> And better likes of learnings sacred lore,
> Then of fond Fortunes glistering mockeries.[57]

In the end, however, Gripe repents:

> Hir choyce was virtuous, but my wil was base,
> I sought to grace hir from the *Indian* Mines,

[57] Lines 263-265.

But she sought honour from the starrie Mount:
What franticke fit possest my foolish braine?
What furious fancie fired so my heart,
To hate faire Virtue and to scorne desert?[58]

Fortunatus voices the moral of the play when reprimanding his father's greed:

Where golden gaine doth bleare a fathers eyes,
That pretious pearle fetcht from *Pernassus* mount,
Is counted refuse, worse then *Bullen* brasse;
Both ioyes and hope hang of a silly twine,
That still is subiect vnto flitting time:
That tournes ioy into griefe, and hope to sad despaire,
And ends his dayes in wretched worldly care.
Were I the richest Monarch vnder heauen,
And had one daughter thrice as faire,
As was the Grecian *Menelaus* wife,
Ere I would match hir to an vntaught swaine,
Though one whose wealth exceeded *Crœsus* store,
Hir selfe should choose, and I applaud hir choise,
Of one more poore then euer *Sophos* was,
Were his deserts but equall vnto his.
. . . . . .
As she in Natures graces doth excell:
So doth *Minerua* grace him full as well.[59]

It has also been noted that, as in all school plays, the Epilogue closes with a request for a *plaudite*.

Further, it would seem that both plays are to be connected with the Christmas holidays. *Wylie Beguylie* we know was performed during the Christmas season;[60] and *Wily Beguiled* possesses many characteristics which would lead us to connect it with Christmas. Robin Goodfellow's plan to frighten Sophos by putting on his "great carnation nose" suggests the "feynyd berdis, peyntid visers, diffourmyd or colourid visages," against the use of which at Christmas laws were passed so frequently.[61] Among the oldest

[58] Lines 2373-2378.

[59] Lines 2836-2350, 2353-2354.

[60] *Merton College MS. Register*, Jan. 3, 1566/7; quoted by Boas, *University Drama*, p. 157.

[61] See Riley, *Memorials of London*, pp. 193, 534, 561, 669; and Baskervill, "Dramatic Aspects of Medieval Folk Festivals in England," *Studies in Philology* (University of North Carolina), XVII, 34.

of the Christmas sports was the beast dance, in which the performers dressed themselves in the skins of animals.[62] Very early, too, do we find references to characters impersonating fiends in the Christmas plays;[63] and in the Christmas games Robin Goodfellow was frequently a very prominent figure.[64] In *Wily Beguiled* Robin not only masquerades as a devil by dressing in a calf's skin, but even speaks of his costume as his "Christmas Calue skin sute."[65] Churms, too, assumes the role of a Christmas figure when he is spoken of by the Nurse as "the knaue of clubs."[66] From passages in Rowlands' *Knave of Clubs* and in *Like Will to Like* we learn that it was the custom to dub the arch-knave the Knave of Clubs, and the latter passage indicates that this dubbing was connected with the Christmas sports. Newfangle, in deciding whether Tom Tosspot or Ralph Roister is the verier knave, says:

> And I (Master Judge) will so bring to pass,
> That I will judge who shall be knave of clubs at Christmas.[67]

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[62] Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, I, 166, 258, 391, etc.

[63] *Acc. Ld. High Treas. Scot.*, vol. II, 350 (1502): "Item, be the kingis command, to Sainct Nicholas beschop, iij Franch crounis . . . Item, to the deblatis and ruffyis vij." *Ibid.*, IV, 87 (1507): "To Sanct Nicholais . . . xxviijs. To his ruffyis, ixs." Quoted in *New English Dictionary* under *Ruffy*. Robin Goodfellow derived many of his characteristics from the devil—as, for instance, his *Ho, Ho, Ho*—and no doubt many of these borrowings were due to the analogy between *Robin* and *Ruffyn*, a conventional name for the devil in the mysteries.

[64] Jonson introduced him into his Twelfth Night masque of *Love Restored*. In *Mercurius Fumigosus, or the Smoking Nocturnall*, no. 32, Jan. 3-10, 1665 (reprinted in Hazlitt, *Fairy Tales, Legends, and Romances*, p. 337) is a passage describing Robin's pranks on *Twelfth Night*. Robin is the leading character of *Tell-Trothes New-Yeares Gift*, ed. Furnivall, *New Shak. Soc. Publ.*, 1876. And in Heywood's *Hierarchie of Angells*, 1635, p. 574, we learn that

> Robin Good-fellowes some, some call them fairies.
> In solitarie roomes these uprores keepe,
> And beat at dores to wake men from their sleepe;
> Seeming to force locks, be they ne're so strong,
> And keeping Christmasse gambols all night long.

[65] Line 1257.

[66] Line 1758.

[67] *The Knave of Clubbs, Percy Society Publications*, IX, iv, lines 7-14.

Moreover, there is a Christmas mummers' play from Lincolnshire, written down in 1824, in which there appear several speeches almost identical with speeches in the Induction to *Wily Beguiled.*[68] The Induction could hardly have been based upon the mummers' play: not only are a number of words obviously misunderstood in the latter (a fact which could easily be explained by its oral

Like Will to Like, Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, III, 332. The knave of clubs was probably connected with the Twelfth Night sport of choosing the King and Queen. Pepys three times mentions this sport, and under Twelfth Night, 1665-6, narrates how the party turned "to choose King and Queene, and a good cake there was, but no marks found; but I privately found the clove, the mark of the knave, and privately put it into Captain Cocke's piece, which made some mirth, because of his lately being known by his buying of clove and mace in the East India prizes."

[68] Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 33418. The following are the speeches resembling the Induction of *Wily:*

"Fool. a pitiful case indeed Madam Hey Ho! wher's all this/ paltry poor; still paltry in this place, and yet not perfect for/ shame, step forth people's eyes look's dim with a very red/ expectation.

1st Ribboner. How now m'e Amorous George still as live and as/ blyth and as mad and as melancholy as that Mantletree./ What play have you got here today

Fool Play boy

Rib Yes play/ I look upon the Tittle of the spectimony once a year you old/ scallibush nothing but parch penny. worth tufcoal/ callyely old callymuf's you molling. bolling bangling/ fool stand out of my sight.

Fool Zounds what a man/ have I got here

Rib man you mistake in me I'm no talker/ I am a Juggler I can shew you the trick of the twelves as/ many trickes as there are days in the year toils and moils/ and motes in the Sun. I have them all upon my Finger end/ Jack in the loft quick and be gone.

Fool. How man I'l warrant the

Ribr Hey now man I see thou can do something. hold thy hand,/ here's a shilling for thy labour; take that to the poltry of/ the poor and throw unto them, say thou hast quite lost the/ title of this play, callyflaskin jest shall stenge our sight/ and you shall hear a new delight."

The opening lines show that it is a Christmas play:

Gentlemen and Ladies
I'm come to see you all/
This merry time of Christmas,
I neither knock nor call; . ./

For a copy of this mummers' play and for innumerable other suggestions I am indebted to Professor C. R. Baskervill of the University of Chicago.

transmission), but the passage in question has no connection with the mummers' play as a whole. The play indeed seems to be merely a combination of other Christmas plays, as several other stanzas are practically identical with stanzas in *The Revesby Sword Play*.[69] The meter of the play, too, indicates that the lines common to the play and the Induction were later additions, they being the only lines in the play which are not in rime. Either the Induction was used by the author of the mummers' play or there was an older Christmas play from which both the Induction and the mummers' play borrowed. Whichever may have been the case, we have added reason for connecting *Wily Beguiled* with the Christmas season.

Again, about the time that *Wily Beguiled* was being prepared for the stage, there is a probability that other Oxford plays were being reworked. We have records of only three other plays as performed at Oxford about the time that *Wylie Beguylie* was performed. The first and second parts of *Palaemon and Arcyte* were performed on September 2 and 4, 1566; *Wylie Beguylie* was performed during the Christmas season of 1566-7; and *Damon and Pithias* followed just a year later. In Henslowe's *Diary* are recorded a lost play *Palaemon and Arcyte,* 1594, and a lost play by Chettle, *Damon and Pithias,* 1600.[70] As *Wily Beguiled* was

[69] In the opening speech the fool says:

> My name is noble Anthony
> I'm as live and as/ blyth and as mad
> and as melancholy as that mantletree/
> make room for noble Anthony
> and all his Jovial Company.

Compare the speech of the fool in *The Revesby Sword Play*, Manly, I, 305. Compare the speech of Pepper Britches, Manly, I, 308, with the following speech of the Third Ribboner:

> I am my Fathers eldest Son
> and heir of all his Lands/
> and hope in a short time
> it will all fall in my hands.
>
> I was/ brought up at Linsecourt
> all the days of my life,
> I'm/ walking with this Lady fair
> I wish she was my wife. . ./

[70] Greg, I, 19 and 118.

probably reworked within a year or eighteen months after the second of these two lost plays, the suggestion immediately presents itself that the dramatists in their mad rush for plots seized upon and revised these three early Oxford plays.

This suggestion is strengthened by the fact that if one compares *Wily Beguiled* with the plays which we have of the time of *Wylie Beguylie,* one finds that those characteristics which the original of *Wily Beguiled* must have possessed are to be found in plays contemporary with the earlier *Wylie.* Most likely the original was in doggerel, the reviser carefully eliminating most of the rime. Possibly, however, the original was in prose, with no more doggerel passages than appear in the revision. But it would not have been surprising even had *Wylie Beguylie* been in prose, for *The Supposes,* performed the year before, is in prose. As I have said, the original must have contained a considerable amount of dialect. That dialect was popular in the sixties is shown in *Damon and Pithias* by Edwards' introducing the figure of Grim the Collier with his country dialect into the court of Dionysius. *Wily Beguiled* abounds in proverbs and familiar phrases, and that these were popular in the plays of the sixties is attested by the great number of such phrases that Gascoigne in *The Supposes* and the translator of *Buggbears* insert into their translations with no authority whatever from the original.

Again, *Wylie Beguylie,* to have been the original of *Wily Beguiled,* must have shown considerable Italian influence, for *Wily Beguiled* has the conventional characters—the pedant, the nurse, and the parasite—and the Italian fondness for disguised rogues. Tricks played upon the pedant were also common in Italian comedy. In *Il Marescalco,* for instance, a boy attaches a firecracker to the pedant's coat-tails and sets it alight. Compare with this trick Robin Goodfellow's plan to frighten the scholar by dressing as a devil. And a similar disguise is, of course, found in *Buggbears.*

Mr. Boas states that "The first University play with a plot of undoubted Italian origin was *Hymenaeus,* acted at St. John's, probably in March, 1578-9." [71] But we have no right whatever to assume that *Hymenaeus* was the first University play showing

[71] *University Drama in the Tudor Age,* p. 134.

Italian influence, for, as Mr. Boas says later, "At Oxford, as at Cambridge, the records of the University stage for a period of nearly fifteen years after Elizabeth's visit are very meagre. No extant plays can be assigned to this time, and the account books of Christ Church and St. John's College, which would doubtless have furnished some details of theatrical entertainments, are unfortunately missing till 1577-8 and 1579-80 respectively."[72] It is obvious that we cannot, with such incomplete records, assert there were no Italian plays at the Universities. On the contrary, in view of the great vogue of Italian literature in England during these years, it is highly probable that Italian plays were performed at the Universities. According to the dating of Mr. Bond, its last editor, *Buggbears,* based primarily upon Grazzini's *La Spiritata,* was performed in 1564 or 1565. Mr. Boas does not discuss *Buggbears,* though Herr Grabau had thought that the manuscript bore traces of the school origin of the play. The elaborateness with which the music is copied into the manuscript does suggest that it was a school play. But whether it be a school play or not, it bears witness of an Italian drama's serving as the source of an English play as early as 1565. In 1566 *The Supposes,* which had been translated from Ariosto by George Gascoigne, was performed at Gray's Inn. In the same year appeared the first part of Painter's *Pallace of Pleasure;* in the next, the second part of Painter and Geoffrey Fenton's *Tragicall Discourses* from Bandello *via* Belleforest. The tremendous popularity of these Italian stories is shown in the attack by Roger Ascham, who, it will be remembered, died in 1568, upon "the fond books of late translated out of Italian into English, sold in every shop in London, commended by honest titles the sooner to corrupt honest manners";[73] and that they furnished the plots for many plays is indicated by Gosson's denouncing in 1579 the *Pallace of Pleasure* as among the works which "have beene thoroughly ransackt to furnish the playe-houses in London."[74] Amidst this great enthusiasm for Italian literature, would it be surprising that an Oxford play of 1567

[72] *Ibid.,* p. 157.

[73] *Schoolmaster, Little Classics* edition, 81.

[74] *Plays Confuted in Five Actions,* quoted by Brooke, *The Tudor Drama,* p. 234.

should adopt several of the conventional characters and situations of Italian comedy?

To summarize—for the six following reasons I believe that *Wily Beguiled* is a reworked form of the Merton College *Wylie Beguylie*:

1. *Wily Beguiled* is evidently a revised play.
2. Its content indicates that it was undoubtedly a school play.
3. Both plays seem to be connected with the Christmas season.
4. The humor of *Wily Beguiled* is of a type no more subtle than that of plays contemporary with *Wylie Beguylie*.
5. There is indication that about the same time that *Wily Beguiled* must have been reworked other Oxford plays were being reworked.
6. Those characteristics which the original of *Wily Beguiled* must have possessed are found in plays contemporary with *Wylie Beguylie*.

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